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STUDIES IN THE MSS OF THE THIRD DECADE OF LIVY

BY F. W. SHIPLEY

In *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts*, published in 1904, I sought to illustrate by means of two MSS of the third decade of Livy (the Puteanus, and its ninth-century copy, the Vaticanus Reginensis 762) the errors which crept into the texts of the Latin authors in the copies made by ninth-century scribes of the uncial MSS of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The scope of the work precluded the consideration of a number of questions arising out of my study of the two MSS. These questions will be discussed in the present series of papers under the following headings: I, The Relationships of the MSS in the Puteanus Group; II, Addenda and Corrigenda in Mommsen's *Analecta Liviana* for the Readings of Vaticanus Reginensis 762; III, The Codex Mediceus; IV, The Date of the Corrections by Erasure in the Puteanus; V, Addenda and Corrigenda in the Readings of the Puteanus as given in the Critical Apparatus of August Luchs.

I. THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MSS IN THE PUTEANUS GROUP¹

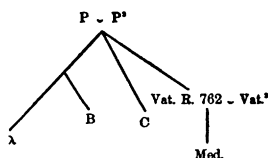
Since 1869, when Heerwagen published his *Commentatio critica de T. Livii xxvi. 41. 18-44. 1*, the attention of students of the text of the latter half of the third decade of Livy has, naturally enough, been concentrated upon the problem of restoring, in so far as it is possible to do so, the readings of the Spiersian tradition, and the relationships of the MSS in this group have been worked out in great detail. The MSS of the Puteanus group have received but little attention, since they are descended from an existing original and are, for this reason, of no value for the text of Livy for the greater portion of the decade. But, at

¹The MSS of this group which are earlier than the end of the thirteenth century are given below, together with their designations:

P = Puteanus sive Parisinus 5730, saec. V.

R = Vaticanus Reginensis 762, saec. IX, a copy of P. This manuscript is not used in
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the beginning and end of the decade, which are missing in the Puteanus, some of the earlier MSS of this group possess an independent value, and the readings of C, M, B, and λ are for these portions given in the critical apparatus of August Luchs. The determination of their relationships to each other and to P is thus of some consequence. A stemma is given by Luchs on p. vii of his *Prolegomena*, as follows:



This stemma, as I shall proceed to show, is not entirely correct, although Luchs can hardly be held responsible for the error. His classification is no doubt based upon the readings given in Mommsen's *Analecta Liviana*. This work, while it laid the foundations for a sounder criticism of the text of the second half of the decade, is full of inaccuracies of detail, due partly to the haste with which some of the collations were made, and in part to the almost unavoidable blunders in arranging and digesting by means of numerical designations the readings of eighty-four manuscripts. It will be seen from the readings of the Vaticanus Reginensis given below (p. 413), what a considerable margin one must allow for possible error in the readings of most of the other MSS as given in the *Analecta*. The Vat. Reg., in

the critical apparatus of the editions, and has therefore no letter of designation.

In the following pages it is referred to as Vat. Reg. and its readings are given for convenience under the designation R. Its number in Mommsen's *Analecta* is 66. M = Mediceus Laurentianus LXIII. 20, saec. XI, a copy of Vat. Reg. according to Luchs. No. 36 in the *Analecta*.

C = Parisinus 5731 Colbertinus, saec. XII. No. 1 in *Analecta*.

B = Bambergensis M. IV. 9, saec. XI. No. 9 in *Analecta*.

λ = Laurentianus LXIII. 21, saec. XIII. No. 37* in *Analecta*.

Londiniensis Harleianus 2493, saec. XIII. No. 27* in *Analecta*.

Vaticanus 1847, saec. XIII. No. 55 in *Analecta*.

Cantabrigiensis, Trinity College, R. 4. 4, saec. XIII incip. No. 26 in *Analecta*.

Parisiinus 5732 Colbertinus, saec. XIII. No. 2 in *Analecta*.

Parisiinus 5736, saec. XIII vel XIV. No. 6 in *Analecta*.

The numerous MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are all referred to under the numbers given by Mommsen in the *Analecta*, and for these the reader is referred to the *Analecta*, pp. 34-37.

the portion covered by the readings given in the *Analecta*, follows its original with great fidelity and has comparatively few departures from the readings of P. Of these few variations a considerable proportion are either wrongly or inadequately reported in the *Analecta*, and, in consequence, the real position of this MS in the Puteanus group was overlooked. This oldest descendant of P is of no value for the text of Livy owing to the fact that it is more mutilated at the beginning and end of the decade than the Puteanus itself. Its readings do not appear in the critical apparatus, and the interest in it has been of a purely paleographical nature. For this reason the errors in the report of it in the *Analecta* have passed unnoticed. In the stemma of Luchs it is recognized as a copy of P, and the parent of M, but it can readily be shown that, of the four manuscripts of the P group of which Luchs makes use in his critical edition, all but C are descended from P through Vat. Reg. It can further be shown, even from the *Analecta*, that the majority of the great number of manuscripts of the P group trace their descent through this ninth-century copy.

In his stemma Luchs recognizes that B and λ are descended from P through a common ancestor, but fails to recognize that the common ancestor is Vat. Reg. The descent of λ from Vat. Reg. is easily shown, and to avoid the errors of the *Analecta* I shall make use of the readings of λ as they are given in the critical apparatus of Luchs's edition, and my own readings of Vat. Reg. I shall give those readings only in which Vat. Reg. shows a departure from P.

For convenience the readings of Vat. Reg. are designated by the letter R.

28. 24. 7 non reuehi P,* reuehit *omitting* non R, λ.
 25. 7 reum P, rerum R, λ.
 8 Scipionem bellis P, scipionē | bellis R, scipio non bellis λ.
 26. 14 in acie P,* acie R, *et ex aciem* λ.
 27. 5 umbrium P², ubrium R, λ.
 28. 6 insiciliamessenam (=Messanam) P, in siciliam esse nam R, λ.
 29. 2 doleraeuitae P, dolere | uitae R, dolore uitae λ.
 33. 14 accepere P,* acceperet R¹, acciperet R², λ.

* Reading of P inferred from Luchs's silence.

33. 15 neques P¹, neque eques P², neque acies R, λ.
 16 ca | pessendae steterat P, capessendaest et erat R, capessenda
 est et erat λ.
 34. 12 pecuniam ilergetes P,* pecuniā | milergetes R, pecuniam
 inilergetes λ.
 35. 12 continentem] contionemtem P, contionem tem R¹, contio-
 nantem R², contio natem λ.
 29. 2. 2 peruenere et] perueneret P, R¹, perueniret R², λ.
 2. 13 neu resutui acie P¹ (neu restitui acie P⁴) neu res ut ui acie
 R, neu res ut in acie λ.
 12. 8 epirotae] epiroe P epikoe R, λ.
 17. 9 respecietis P, recipietis R, λ.
 22. 5 consulem P* (probably written cōs), quos R, λ.
 15 fauorem] fatio | rem P¹, *supra* o *prima manu* u uidetur
scripta fuisse, facilio | rem P², facillionis R, λ.

From the above examples it will be seen that the readings of λ either agree with those of Vat. Reg., where they depart from those of P, or have their starting-point in errors which originated with it. The readings *rerum* 28. 27. 7; *neque acies* 28. 33. 15; *epikoe* 29. 12. 8; and *facillionis* 29. 22. 15 are especially strong evidence of the descent of λ from Vat. Reg.

That λ is not a direct copy but is descended from Vat. Reg. through an intermediary of as late a date as the eleventh century is shown by the progress of error in 28. 34. 12 *pecuniā milergetes* R., *pecuniam inilergetes* λ, and in 29. 2. 13 *ut ui acie* R., *ut in acie* λ. In both instances the error points to forms of *m*, *n*, *u*, *i*, which are at least as late as the eleventh century.

That B and λ were descended from a common ancestor had already been recognized by Luchs, and may readily be shown without resorting to the *Analecta* by a comparison of the readings of C, B, λ, given in the critical apparatus of Luchs's edition at the end of the decade, which is missing in P. A few omissions and lacunae will be sufficient to show the almost constant agreement of B, λ against C.¹

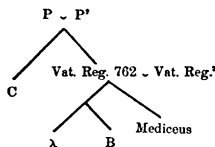
30. 30. 20 ferrum utrimque C, *om.* B λ.
 25 ea B C, *om.* λ.
 32. 4 spes B λ, *om.* C.

¹Only those passages are cited in which Luchs has given the readings of all three MSS.

35. 4 proelio et C, et *om.* B λ .
 36. 8 mille *vel* ∞ C, $\cdot \times \cdot$ B, *om.* λ .
 8 mille et quingenti] (probably ∞ et D in P) C, $\cdot \times \cdot$ et B, decem λ .
 9 quo magis] quam magis B λ , magis C.
 37. 5 quinquaginta C, *om.* B λ .
 11 arguerentur] argueretur P C, *spatium relictum* B, *om.* λ .
 39. 6 C. Sulpicius Galba] c. C, *om.* B λ , *sed in* B *spatium relictum*.
 40. 8 prouinciā C, *om.* B λ *sed in* B 15 *litt. spat. relictum*.
 9 anno C. *om.* B λ .
 41. 1 prorogatum imperium] pro λ , *inter* prorogatum et imperium B 7 *litt. spat. rel.*
 4 acidinum esset uti consules C, acc (*spatio relicto*) sule B, *om.* λ .
 4 his uideretur ut plebem rogarent cui iuberent C, his uidetur ut pleb (*spatio relicto*) berent B, *om.* λ .
 5 ex duobus exercitibus C, *om.* B λ , *sed in* B *spatium relictum*.

These lacunae and omissions clearly point to a common ancestor for B and λ later than P, and, as the descent of λ through Vat. Reg. has been proven, it is clear that B also is a descendant of that manuscript. B like λ is not a direct copy of Vat. Reg., but is removed from it by at least one intermediary of the tenth or eleventh century, as is shown by such errors as 30. 6. 9 where B has *niagis* for *magis*.¹

The stemma of the older manuscripts of the P group as given by Luchs should accordingly be corrected as follows:



and C remains the only one of these manuscripts whose descent from P is not through Vat. Reg. 762.

These relationships have all been established without resorting to the *Analecta*, on the basis of the readings of P, C, B, λ , as given

¹ In a paper in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1902, on "Numeral Corruptions in a Ninth-Century Manuscript," I had already pointed out that the freakish errors of the scribes of Vat. Reg. were duplicated by similar errors in the Bambergensis; but as the readings of the Bambergensis were from a portion of the text that was missing in the Vat. Reg., and I had then no other reason for calling in question the stemma of Luchs, I was obliged to regard it simply as a coincidence.

in the critical apparatus of Luchs, who is usually most careful, and my own collation of Vat. Reg.

The fact that Vat. Reg. is the ancestor of B and λ as well as of M having been established, it is possible to show that it is also the ancestor of a much larger number of manuscripts. But the readings of these manuscripts are either not given at all in the critical editions, or are only given sporadically, when they happen to show traces of the Spirensian tradition, and one is forced to fall back upon the *Analecta* as the only available evidence. In order to make use of the *Analecta* for this purpose, it is necessary to eliminate from the readings there given for Vat. Reg. the inaccuracies in the collation submitted to Mommsen either by Schoell or Jeep, who collated for him the manuscripts in the Roman libraries, and the clerical blunders in digesting its readings under the numerical system which Mommsen adopted. The corrected readings are given in paper II of this series on p. 413.

With the readings of Vat. Reg. thus corrected, one can trace with greater accuracy the relationships of the later MSS of the P group, bearing in mind, of course, the possibility of similar errors in the *Analecta*, in handling the reading of these MSS. It will here be necessary to make use of the numerical designations adopted by Mommsen.

Among the passages given in the *Analecta* the key to the MSS descended through Vat. Reg. is to be found in 29. 22. 8 *memoriaeque absentis Scipionis fauorem ad uulgum conciliabat*. The reading of P is given by Luchs as follows: *fatio | rem* P¹ (supra o prima manu u videtur scripta fuisse) *facilio | rem* P². The scribe of Vat. Reg. wrote *facillionis*, a blunder resulting apparently, by a parablepsy, from *facilio |* of the reading of P², and the *nis* of *Scipionis*. This senseless reading, which thus originated in R, and which is not of the sort likely to be perpetuated except in direct copies, is repeated either as it stands, or with modifications, in a large number of manuscripts, as follows: *facillionis* M, B, λ, 2, 12^a, 26, 27^a, 62^a, 81; *facilionis* 38, 67^b, 72^a, *facilioris* 44; *facilliomnes* 29^a, *facili omnes* 74; *facile omnes* 6^a, 29^b, 79; *facilior dis* 67^a.

Equally significant is 27, 33, 10 *in necopinatam fraudem*

lapsos esse, but its significance is lost in the *Analecta*, owing to the fact that the reports for both P and Vat. Reg. are incorrect. Luchs gives for P *innecopianas* | *tam* P¹, *sine copia nas tam* P²; R¹ had *sinnecopia natā*, which was altered by R² to *sine copia natā*. This reading is, according to the *Analecta*, found in the following MSS: M, B, λ, 12^a, 14, 23, 26, 27^a (?), 29^a (?), 31, 35, 38, 44, 46, 49^a, 51, 52, 59, 62, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81.

In 27. 34. 5, P has *opsoleta*, Vat. Reg. had also *opsoleta*, but this was changed by the first hand to *obsolita* (the report in the *Analecta* is here misleading). This reading *obsolita* occurs, with modifications, in the following MSS: *obsolita* M, B, λ, 3, 4, 12^a, 38, 44, 46, 56, 71, 74, 77, 80; *obsoluta* 18, 49^a, 70; *absoluta* 11, 14, 75; *absoleta* 82; *absoluta* 67, 81; *abseleta* 34; *absoleta* 53^b; *obselata* 58.

These passages alone give as probable descendants of Vat. Reg. the following MSS: M, B, λ, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12. 14, 23, 26, 27^a, 29^a, 30, 33, 35 (?), 38^a, 39, 44, 46, 49^a, 51, 52, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 67, 70, 71, 72^a, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81.

There are in all ten MSS of the P group of as early a date as the thirteenth century, namely, Vat. Reg., C, M, B, λ, 27^a (= H of Luchs), 55 (Vat. 1487), 26 (Cantab., Trin. Coll., R. 4. 4), 2 (Paris. Colbert. 5732), 6 (Paris. Colbert. 5736). Of these, C alone does not trace its descent through Vat. Reg. M had already been recognized as a copy of the latter MS by Luchs. Luchs had already shown that 27^a and 55 were copies of λ, though he failed to recognize their relationship to Vat. Reg. The other thirteenth-century MSS, 26, 2, 6, form a group which is closely related to the Bambergensis. It is highly probable that the Bambergensis was itself the archetype of these three MSS. The following readings in the *Analecta*, which are peculiar to these three MSS and to B, point pretty clearly to this relationship, but, owing to the possibility of further errors in the *Analecta*, absolute proof is not to be had without a new collation of this portion of the MSS in question.

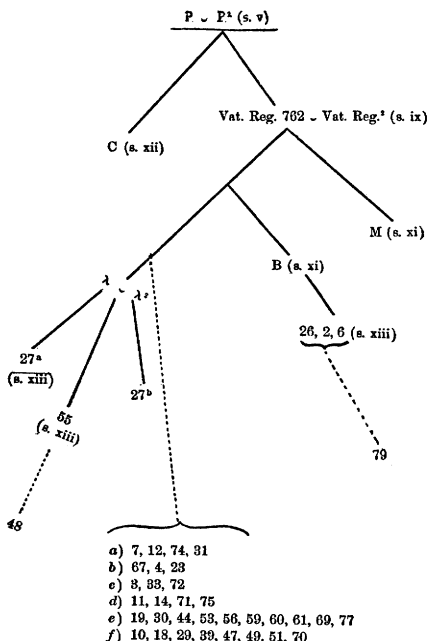
27. 33. 10 praepropere P, R; praepraepropere B, 26, 2.

34. 2 et conlega P, R; set conlega B¹, sed conlega B², 26, 2.

8 uiro iussa R; uiri iussa B(?), 26, 2, 6a.

The remaining MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which I have shown to trace their descent through Vat. Reg., are so late and show so many signs of interpolation, emendation, and crossing that it is hard to trace their further relationship definitely. Practically all, however, are more closely related to the Laurentianus than to the Bambergensis or the Mediceus. They fall into groups as follows: (a) 7, 12, 74, 31; (b) 67, 4, 23; (c) 33, 3, 72; (d) 11, 14, 71, 75; (e) 19, 30, 44, 53, 56, 59, 60, 61, 69, 77; (f) 10, 18, 29, 39, 47, 49, 51, 70.

The stemma given below indicates in detail the genealogy of the MSS of earlier date than the end of the thirteenth century.



The relationship of the MSS of later date is indicated by the dotted lines. To avoid complicating the diagram unnecessarily, the large group of late MSS marked a, b, c, d, e, f, is merely indicated as tracing its descent through the same line as λ. In reality λ and 27 are the ancestors of a considerable number of them.

In the entire list of MSS of the Puteanus group, there is but one which traces its descent from P independently of Vat. Reg. As the Puteanus was available throughout this period in the library of the monastery at Corbie, this fact goes far to show that, down to the time of the Renaissance, those engaged in reproducing copies of the text of Livy were at little pains to search out early and reliable MSS, and were satisfied with making copies of MSS which were not only late, but full of interpolations.¹

II. ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA IN MOMMSEN'S *ANALECTA LIVIANA*
FOR THE READINGS OF VATICANUS REGINENSIS 762

In the study of the relationships discussed in the foregoing paper, I found a great many discrepancies between my own record of the readings of Vaticanus Reginensis 762 and those given in the *Analecta*. In order to guard against the possibility of error on my part I had made, through the kindness of Dr. E. A. Loew, Carnegie fellow in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, a careful transcript of Vat. Reg. for the passages given in the *Analecta*. This transcript served to verify my own record, and it was clear that the discrepancies in the *Analecta* were due in part to omissions and errors in the collation submitted to Mommsen, and in part to clerical blunders inevitable in digesting the readings of eighty-four manuscripts.

Below is submitted a list of the additions and corrections which should be made in the readings of Vat. Reg. as given in the *Analecta*. The sign * indicates that the report of the reading of Vat. Reg. given in the *Analecta* is erroneous, and the sign † that the reading is there omitted. Corrections are given in full, and abbreviations where they have been the cause of errors in MSS descended from Vat. Reg. Occasionally, in the case of an important reading, that of Vat. Reg. is specifically given where it is merely included under *plerique* in the *Analecta*. The designation of Vat. Reg. is that given in the *Analecta*, viz. 66.

27. 33. 5 p̄. *sulpicius* 66.
6 *manli in †manlio mut.* 66^a.
6 *molitur* 66.

¹M is a possible exception. See discussion of its relationship to P in the third paper of this series.

- 8 iussi *in* iussit *mut.* 66^a.
 10 nimia] *plerique*, † nia 66.
 10 sinne copia natam 66^a sine copia natam 66^b.
 11 immortalis 66^a immortales 66^b.
 11 consulum p. sorum 66.
 34. 2 egre | ciae ducebant 66.
 3 adiunto 66^a adiuncto 66^b.
 5 reduxerant 66.
 5 opsoleta *in* obsolita *mut.* 66^a.
 6 p. licinius 66.
 7 hominis *in* homines *mut.* 66^a.
 7 marcia 66.
 8 *uiro iussa 66.
 9 que 66^a q. *post. ras.*
 9 quia duos] qui ad | uos 66.
 10 †recuraturusque 66.
 10 cum claudio 66.
 13 congeris ibi *in* congeri si *correxit* 66^b.
 28. 39. 16 †uobis 66.
 16 tribe | erunt 66^a, tribuerunt 66^b.
 16 *uestrae 66.
 16 facia | atis 66^a, faci | atis 66^b.
 17 destitutum 66^a, restitutum 66^b.
 17 socilis 66^a, socialis 66^b.
 18 rectae et 66.
 18 †serutio 66.
 18 quaequae 66^a, quaeque 66^b.
 20 auditae quae 66.
 21 dues *in* duces *mut.* 66^a.
 21 litterae quae 66^a, litteraeq. 66^b.
 21 uti 66^a, i *postea erasa.*
 21 †cum iter 66.
 40. 1 deferre 66.
 1 ferrentes 66^a, ferrent et 66^b.
 1 adgerendum 66.
 1 ad *om.* 66^a *supplevit* 66^b.
 2 aliter 66.
 2 transportaret 66.
 3 †scio 66.
 4 †provinciam 66.
 5 non senatorem modo qui de 66.
 7 adulescentes sane 66^a, adoliscetes sane 66^b.
 8 atquae 66^a, atque *post. ras.*
 9 †consularibus 66.

- 9 parte 66.
 9 *aet | mea ratio 66.
 10 †quo fando 66.
 11 iuditio 66.
 11 *confessionem 66^a, confessione me 66^b.
 12 atquae 66.
 13 que parta 66.
 14 uince 66^a, uincere 66^b.
 14 †han | balem 66.
 41. 1 *ignosce rep. 66^a, ignoscere .p. 66^b.
 1 †bono publico proponam *om.* 66.
 2 aut is] is *om.* 66^a, *supplevit* 66^b.
 3 hannibal] habal 66.
 4 praeferiundus 66.
 4 aut illud] ut 66^a, aut 66^b.
 4 †contigat 66.
 5 futurast ad repans 66.
 5 aryci 66^a, eryci 66^b.
 5 atquae 66^a, atque *post. ras.*
 5 mali 66^a, malis 66^b.
 7 nondum is est 66.
 7 contempsis 66^a, contempsisse 66^b.
 8 egregiam 66^a, aegregiam 66^b.
 8 †parati 66.
 10 huic 66^a, hic 66^b.
 10 *altera ultra 66.
 10 nobis 66.
 11 nunc] *num 66.
 11 quod et] et *om.* 66^a, *supplevit* 66^b.
 11 diuersus 66^a, diversos 66^b.
 11 altae 66^a, alterae 66^b.
 11 clases 66.

III. THE CODEX MEDICEUS

Luchs, on p. lxxviii of the *Prolegomena* to his critical edition of Books xxvi-xxx, states that Mediceus Laurentianus LXIII. 20, is a copy of Vaticanus Regimensis 762, and the same relation is indicated in his stemma of the MSS of the third decade given on p. vii. A comparison of the readings of M with those of Vat. Reg. and P will show that this statement of relationship needs some modification, and, for the opening of the decade, at least, raises an interesting question as to the manner in which the text of M was

established. Throughout Book xxii from chap. 6, where Vat. Reg. now begins, there is a considerable number of cases in which M departs from the reading of the latter manuscript, and reverts to readings which are to be found in P, but not in Vat. Reg. Leaving out of consideration the numerous coincidences between the readings of M and P as against Vat. Reg., which might be ascribed to ordinary vagaries of spelling, mere accident, or conjecture on the part of the scribe of M, the following readings cannot be explained in any of these ways. The readings of Vat. Reg. are indicated by the letter R.

1. 22. 8. 5 aut nuntium *aut* litteras mitti]
haut P, aut R, haud M.
2. 9. 4 ibi per aliquot dies stativa habita *refectusque* miles]
prefec | tusque P¹, refectusque P², refectusque R, pre-
fectusque M.
3. 12. 11 sed non Hannibalem magis infestum habebat quam
magistrum equitum]
magg. equi | tum P, mag[̄] equitum R, magg[̄] equitum M.
4. 13. 11 cum omnia bello *flagrarent*]
flaglarent P, flagrarent R, flaglarent M.
5. 14. 1 *exurebatur amoenissimus* Italiae ager]
exur | beraturamoenissimus P, exuberatura.moenissimus
R, exurberatur.a_moenissimus M.
6. 12 utrum tandem L. Papirius *Cursor iuga Samni* per-
lustrando]
CVRSORIIVGAS | AMNI P¹, CVRSORIVGAS | AMNI
P², cursor iuga:s_amni R, cursori iuga samni M.
7. 13 impeditam *suomet* ipsam instrumento atque adparatu]
suo'm | et P, suo et R, suo met M.
8. 15 et *ad aures* quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur.]
ETAD^AVRES P (a *suprascriptit* P¹), et^{ad}. aures R (ad
suppl. corr.), etad^a. ures M (a *suprascriptit* M¹).
9. 22. 14 *uolt* sibi quisque credi]
uolt P, uoti R, uult M.
10. 16 et tempore constituto ad obsides *tradendos saguntum*
rediit.]
trahendosaquntum P¹, tradendosaguntum P², tradendo
saguntum R, trahendo saguntum M.
- 11.¹ 52. 4 ad quattuor milia hominum et *ducenti equites*]

¹The readings given for P in these two examples differ from those of Luchs, which are incorrect in detail. See corrections of readings in his critical apparatus in the next number of *Classical Philology*.

DVCEN | TIAMILIAEQVITES in DVCEN | TA-
EQVITES P¹, ducenti equites P², ducenti equites R,
ducenti iam equites M.

- 12.¹ 6 tum *sepeliendi* causa conferri in unum corpora suorum
iussit]
SEPELLIENDO in SEPELLENDI *mut.* P¹, *post.*
rasura SEPELLIENDI *effectum*, sepellendi R, *quod in*
sepelliendi mutavit corr. sepeliendi M.

In the first four examples given above, and also in No. 6, the readings of R are those adopted by the modern editors. All of them make good sense. Consequently it is hardly by accident that we find in M the readings *haud* (No. 1), *prefectusque* (No. 2), *magg* (No. 3), *flaglarent* (No. 4), and *cursori iuga samni* (No. 6). In No. 5 the readings of R and P are equally unintelligible. It is hardly likely that the scribe of M, finding before him the meaningless word *exuberatura*, would have hit upon the equally meaningless *exurberatura* independently of P. It is conceivable that in No. 7 a scribe with a fair knowledge of Latin might have thought of *suomet*, but, taken in conjunction with the other cases, the coincidence is hardly to be explained in this way. In No. 8, allowing for the difference in the styles of writing, the scribe of M has made a facsimile of the original reading of P and the correction of P¹. In the cases where there are corrections in P made by P² (viz., Nos. 2, 6, 10, 11), the reading of M corresponds not with the correction, but with the original reading; while R, on the other hand, has adopted the corrected reading. In No. 11, M agrees with P² and R in reading *ducenti*, but *iam*, which does not occur in R, must come from the middle letters of *ducentiamilia*, the original reading of P.

The examples given make it certain, so far as certainty is possible in paleographical problems, that the scribe of M was in some manner informed of the readings of P. This information may have been obtained in any one of three ways: (1) the scribe may have had before him P in addition to Vat. Reg., upon which, in the main, he based his copy; or (2) some accurate copy of P now lost; or (3) he may have obtained by correspondence the readings in question. The last of these three possibilities seems to be

¹*Ibid.*

excluded by the nature of the examples. The passages about which further information, and the support of an older manuscript might be desired by correspondence, would naturally be those which were corrupt and unintelligible to the scribe, whereas in Vat. Reg. most of the passages in question make perfect sense, and are the readings of modern editions. Consequently there is no reason why they should have been suspected by the scribe. The same argument holds, also, for the second possibility, namely, that the scribe of M had before him a copy of P other than Vat. Reg. It does not seem likely that a scribe who set store enough upon Vat. Reg. to base his copy upon it, would reject its readings where they are intelligible and make perfect sense, for the readings of another manuscript which made none, unless he had some reason for believing that the manuscript from which these unintelligible readings were drawn was of greater authority than the one upon which he was basing his text. This authority would be wanting in a copy of P contemporary with, or later than, Vat. Reg. There still remains Ex. 8 which is of itself almost conclusive evidence that P itself was before the scribe. Here the reading of M, which, as it stands, was all the work of the original scribe, was a perfect facsimile of the reading in P with its corrections by P¹.

If the conclusion is correct, and the Vat. Reg. and P were both accessible to the scribe of M, one might reasonably ask why the copy was not based directly upon P, as the older of the two manuscripts. It would seem to have been the purpose of the person for whom M was made to secure a conservative text which should have as few departures as possible from the Puteanus. But, as the uncial writing of the manuscript, with its undivided words, was more difficult to copy, and opened the way for scribal errors, Vat. Reg., which was written in Caroline minuscule, was used to secure greater rapidity. But, in order to follow closely the text of the older manuscript, the readings of P were constantly compared, and where Vat. Reg., whether through error or other causes, showed departures from P, the reading of P was preferred, and where there were corrections in P itself, the original reading was given precedence over the correction.

This practice seems to have been given up after Book xxii

(where examples are frequent), because it was found that by following it out, a readable text was not secured, and the preserving of a conservative text did not serve a practical end, since many of the readings of P, where the two MSS differed, were due to scribal errors in it or in its archetype. But though this practice was given up in the books succeeding Book xxii, one may reasonably suppose that it began at the commencement of the decade and continued throughout Book xxi. This, however, is merely a matter of conjecture, as Book xxi and the first six chapters of Book xxii are missing in Vat. Reg.

M is one of the two¹ manuscripts upon which Luchs has based the text of the beginning of Book xxi, which is missing in the Puteanus. Consequently, if we may assume that the scribe of M began the decade by observing the same care in preserving the readings of P as is to be found in Book xxii, M receives an added interest if we can feel that we have in it, for the only part of it which is of importance for establishing the text of Livy, a more faithful reproduction of the original readings of P in corrupt passages, than if the scribe had followed Vat. Reg. exclusively.

It is of some paleographical interest also, to find in the eleventh century greater care in the direction of preserving a conservative text of the Latin authors than that with which the scribes of the Middle Ages are usually credited. The effort made to preserve an accurate record of the readings of P, even though they are in places corrupt or unintelligible, where the easier course would have been to copy without further thought the clearly written spaced minuscule Vat. Reg., is, for so early an age, commendable, and, while not in itself a scholarly proceeding, it is one which, if it had been observed more carefully throughout the Middle Ages, would have left modern scholars and text critics a great deal less to do.

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¹The other is Parisinus Colbertinus, 5740, National Library, Paris, an eleventh-century descendant of P.